

ported in the morning being in order, GEORGE  
NAM, one of the lecturing agents of the Soc  
ke in their support, including some account

high satisfaction and great benefit he had received, while accompanying that eloquent and fearless advocate of the cause, George Thompson, into the State of New York and Canada, during the early part of last year. He also adverted to the various successes he had had, while laboring as an agent in the States of Maine and Massachusetts.

PARKER PILLSBURY, of New Hampshire, spoke in support of the Resolutions, and expressed the hope that the Society, whose anniversary celebration we are now commencing, would prove true to its duty; that it would meet the great and crying wants of the country, teaching the way of life, of freedom and of salvation to the thousands and tens of thousands, who

have outgrown the bounds of sect and party, who have thrown off the chains of a dead church and a heartless religion, and are struggling to come into the true light and to the true worship of God.

JOHN RAND, of Milton, said he responded very heartily to what had been said, though his friend Pillsbury had used some expressions which might be misunderstood. He said he was glad to hear that

misunderstood. He said he was, he hoped, a Christian; he had aimed to be such; he hoped to die such; and because he was a Christian, he was therefore an abolitionist. For fifteen years, he had been in sympathy with this Society; but he desired to-day to confess his short-comings in duty; he felt he had not long to live, and he was resolved to devote himself more fully and entirely to his work as a Christian.

and an abolitionist. Look on me, he said, all of you, and hear me avow myself an abolitionist, a friend and reader of the *Liberator*, who admires and loves the pure Christian doctrine which the *Liberator* maintains, (although often denounced as infidel,) and witness my resolve to devote myself more completely to the anti-slavery work, ready to bear the reproach of

Christ and of the truth, both within and without the camp.

P. PILLSBURY said a few words by way of explanation. When missionaries go to foreign lands, and denounce the idolatrous practices there prevailing, they do not feel bound frequently to stop and say, But understand me, friends; when I denounce your

idolatry and cannibalism, I do not mean to denounce pure religion, or anything else that is good. So here. We have a religion in this country. Men all around call it Christianity—and that religion is protecting under its ample folds, sins and sinners of the vilest stamp. It is apologizing for, and bringing the names of God and of the Christ to justify, the grossest abominations, the most terrible crimes, social evils, that

ditions, the most terrible wrongs against man, and the most flagrant contempt of the laws of God. When we denounce this thing, is it necessary to explain that we do not mean to denounce the truth of God and the righteousness of Christ?

JOHN M. SPEAR detailed some of his own experiences as a laborer in behalf of the Prisoner. He had met with many professed Christians—ministers and

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH said he was well pleased with the advice often given us by many, who profess to have made great attainments in religion, that we

should conduct our reform in a *Christian way*. What is a 'Christian way'? Listen to Jesus, when he arraigns the church and religious teachers of his day as hypocrites and criminals; not going into the kingdom of heaven themselves, and hindering those who would go; a generation of vipers, &c. We are told, too, that *the Church* must reform the world. Indeed!

Is the church which upholds slavery, and other kindred wrongs, the fit power to rid the world of those wrongs? The church which is to reform the world, we have been taught, is one against which the gates of hell shall not prevail, not one which becomes itself the advocate of the worst doctrines of hell. The true church must drive its ploughshare deep under

the foundations of that church which is the 'chief bulwark of American slavery.'

Adjourned to 7 1-o'clock, P. M.

—

WEDNESDAY EVENING. Edmund Quincy, one of the Vice Presidents, in the chair.

The resolutions before the Society were read by the Secretary.

[A phonographic report, by J. M. W. Yerrinton, of these speeches, and of those made on the two subsequent evenings, will be published as soon as possible. The Secretaries, therefore, refrain from giving even an outline of those speeches.]

Adjourned to Thursday morning, 10 o'clock.

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**THURSDAY.**

Met at the Melodeon, according to adjournment.

The President, in accordance with a previous vote, nominated the following persons a Committee to report a suitable list of names of the Societies for the

Edmund Quiney, of Norfolk Co.  
 Effingham L. Capron, " Worcester Co.  
 William Ashby, " Essex Co.  
 Geo. W. Simonds, " Middlesex Co.  
 William Durfee, " Bristol Co.  
 Johnson Dargie, " Plymouth Co.

Johnson Dave,	" Hampshire Co.
Addison Everett,	" Barnstable Co.
Joshua H. Robbins,	" Suffolk Co.
Jasper H. York,	" Hampden Co.
Francis Wood,	

The resolutions, reported by the Business Committee, being in order, the meeting was addressed by Nathaniel H. Whiting, of Marshfield.

Mrs. REDLON, of H. I., spoke of the injurious influence of many of the Boston churches; and adduced the instance of a young friend of hers, who had been corrupted in principle by the preaching of the Baptist churches with which he was connected, as to come to the support of the Fugitive Slave Law, which he had viewed with abhorrence, and had con-

labeled as inhuman and unchristian, when first enacted.



WENDELL PHILLIPS, from the Business Committee, reported the following resolutions:—

Resolved, That all friends of the cause, in attendance at these sessions, be requested to contribute the sum of one dollar each, or such other sum as may be in their power, toward the necessary expenses of this annual meeting—for which purpose they will be called upon, from time to time, by the members of the Finance Committee.

Resolved, That we urge upon all the friends of the cause immediate and earnest attention to meet the exigencies of the time, by taking themselves, and appealing to those about them for more ample means, to send the living lecturer and the printed page throughout a land now awaking, as ours is, to the momentous importance of the slave question.

After a few words upon the subject, Mr. Phillips moved that the consideration of the second of these resolutions be made the special business for tomorrow morning, at 11 1-2 o'clock. Adopted, unanimously.

W. L. GARRISON referred to what a previous speaker had said of Moses Stuart, of Andover, lately deceased. Those eulogies have been poured out upon this man; and yet who merits the severest censure, more than the man who taxed his ingenuity to find a sanction in the Bible for slavery, who declared that even in the fourth commandment slavery was provided for, and who had exerted his great influence to reconcile the American people to the Fugitive Slave Law?

Mr. G. next spoke of the course which Louis Kossuth had pursued, since he had been in this country; professing to be a friend of universal freedom, and yet steadily refusing to see the three million, two hundred thousand slaves in the land, or say one word for them, but pouring forth unmeasured and most extravagant eulogies on our country and its government. Mr. G. pronounced him a parasite, and recreant to the cause of liberty. He said that there were twelve States in this Union, whose united population was only equal to the whole number of slaves in the Union. Suppose the slaves to be transferred thither, and to take the places of the present inhabitants; twelve entire States would be politically annihilated. Yet Kossuth calls our a Land of Freedom!

Mr. G. referred to the recent case of kidnapping a colored girl from Chester Co., Pennsylvania, and the death (doubtless the murder) of Joseph C. Miller, from whose house the girl was stolen, and who had gone to Baltimore to endeavor to save her. Between Baltimore and his home, his body had been found, with marks of violence upon it, suspended by two handkerchiefs to a tree. He read, also, from *Bible's Voice of the Fugitive*, an account of a slave, Isaac Johnson, who with his wife and child endeavored to escape from slavery. They were pursued, and overtaken in Indiana; a shot from one of the pursuers killed their child, who was upon his mother's back, and the same shot took off part of her ear. They then turned and fought their pursuers, one of whom was killed, and the other fled. Seeing that their child was dead, and they could do it no good, they left it lying by the side of the dead man, and fled. They succeeded in reaching a land of freedom to them, under the protection of a monarch's crown. Yet the Hungarian flatterer is everywhere telling what a liberty-loving nation this is!

Mr. Garrison then reviewed the present position of some of the prominent political leaders of the Union. LUNFORD LANE, once a slave, but for many years a resident in this neighborhood, (having purchased his freedom), made some very interesting remarks. WENDELL PHILLIPS presented the following form of a Petition to the United States Senate, which he hoped would be generally signed, in the intervals of our sessions.

To the Senate of the United States: The undersigned, citizens of Massachusetts, seeing that the attention of the Senate is turned towards the victims of despotic Governments and inhuman laws, respectfully ask that you would consider the unhappy lot of Drayton and Sayres, inmates of the prisons of the District of Columbia, convicted of acts which all humanity, the whole world over, applauds, and which nothing but barbarous laws condemn; and that you would take immediate measures for their relief.

Resolved, that the Resolution on Kossuth be made the special subject of consideration this evening. Notice was given that, by request of the Board of Managers, Rev. Samuel Johnson, of Salem, would this afternoon deliver before the Society a lecture he had recently prepared for the Salem Anti-Slavery Lyceum.

Adjourned to quarter before three o'clock.

THURSDAY AFTERNOON. The President having called the Society to order, introduced to them Rev. Samuel Johnson.

Mr. Johnson then pronounced his address on the Present Aspects of the Slavery Question in the United States. It was a masterly discussion of the questions of Law, Government, and Conscience, in relation to Slavery. After which, the Society adjourned to the evening.

THURSDAY EVENING. The Society again met, according to adjournment, Edmund Quincy in the chair.

The sixth Resolution being in order for the evening was supported, in an exceedingly able manner, by William L. Garrison and Wendell Phillips.

Dr. Daniel Mann, of Boston, defended Kossuth and the course he has pursued,—not as faultless, indeed, but on the whole, as good policy, and dictated by good motives.

Charles C. Burleigh ably replied to Dr. Mann.

Adjourned to Friday, at 10 o'clock, A. M.

#### FRIDAY.

The Society re-assembled, according to adjournment, at the Melodeon, and was called to order by the President.

Mr. Garrison, from the Business Committee, reported the following Resolutions on African Colonization:—

7. Resolved, That among the many revolting spectacles presented to the world is the attempt to colonize the free colored population of this country in Africa, on account of their complexion; while, at the same time, the oppressed of all other nations, however poor and degraded, are permitted to come to these shores, and to share in all the blessings of civil and religious liberty.

8. Resolved, That nothing can surpass the hypocrisy, injustice, effrontery and impety of the American Colonization Society; controlled, as it is, by Southern slaveholders and slave-breeders, and aided by Northern despisers and persecutors of our colored population; pretending, as it does, the utmost concern for the elevation and improvement of the native Africans, while conspiring for the degradation and enslavement of three millions and a half of colored Americans, so long as they remain here; and organized, as it is, under the garb of philanthropy, to give greater security to the slave system, to enhance the value of slave property, and to get rid of an injured and afflicted class.

9. Resolved, That a true exemplification of the colonization spirit is seen in the recent adoption of the State Constitution of Indiana, by which pains and penalties are imposed on the colored residents of that State, and the colored citizens of other States are prohibited from coming into Indiana.

10. Resolved, That this exclusion of colored citizens is not only cruel, but unconstitutional—not only inhuman, but treacherous to the national compact; and proves the religion and politics of Indiana to be a combination of cant and corruption, of hypocrisy and villany, of perfidy and ruffianism.

11. Resolved, That the friends of impartial liberty should earnestly remonstrate, to the present Congress, against the appropriation of any moneys in the national treasury for the establishment of a line of mail steamships to the western coast of Africa, having among its objects the expatriation of the free colored population of the United States—such an appropriation, for such an object, being palpably unconstitutional, and disgraceful to the religion and humanity of our nation.

And it was voted, on motion of Mr. Garrison, that the Resolutions be taken up this evening, at Faneuil Hall.

WILLIAM H. FISH, of Hopedale, addressed the meeting, in a very earnest and interesting manner, chiefly upon the instrumentalities by which the anti-slavery work is to be carried forward and consummated. These, he said, are not weapons of force or violence, but they are moral and spiritual—those which are mighty through God to the pulling down of the strongholds of all wrong. The Church is to do the work; not the American Church, bloody and defiled with crime, but that Church which is composed of all the true, just and good. 'God is the only power who can do this work,' we are told. True; but not a distant God, superintending afar off machinery which he long ago set in motion; but God incarnated in the lives of men, living in and animating the souls of his children.

DANIEL FOSTER took up the resolution on Kossuth. He thought that Kossuth was not to be ranked with such a traitor as Daniel Webster. In his own country, he had taken a very noble position for the freedom of all; Daniel Webster was taking a precisely opposite course. He likened Kossuth to Horace Mann and Joshua R. Giddings, laboring for the right, but yet too much compromised by their position as politicians. Kossuth had been contrasted with O'Connell, in regard to the stand each took as to American slavery. Mr. F. admitted that O'Connell stood far before Kossuth; but, as a whole man, he regarded him as far inferior. He expressed his opinion that O'Connell was a demagogue, taking money from the poor of Ireland for selfish ends. [Mr. F. was repeatedly interrupted, during his remarks upon O'Connell; but order was restored, and he concluded what he had to say.]

The hour assigned for the resolution on funds having arrived, it was voted, On account of reasons assigned by Samuel May, Jr., to reconsider that assignment; and the hour of half-past three in the afternoon was assigned for that purpose.

The discussion proceeded; Mary C. Hinckley, in a few words, replying to Mr. Foster.

Mr. GARRISON showed in how totally different a position Kossuth stood from Mann and Giddings, quoting such expressions of his as this:—'You are a free and happy people; there are no tyrants here.' He vindicated Mr. O'Connell from the charges of Mr. Foster.

J. C. CLUER agreed with what Mr. Foster said about O'Connell, and charged Mr. O'Connell with having offered to send Irish regiments over to England to crush the Chartist movement.

Mr. Garrison said he did not wish to dispute Mr. Cluer, but he would rather see this offer of Daniel O'Connell, in black and white. Mr. Cluer said he could produce it.

DANIEL MANN supported the view of O'Connell's disinterestedness and devotion to Ireland, which Mr. Garrison had taken. He again justified Kossuth's silence on American slavery.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, in some brief, but very conclusive remarks, defended Mr. O'Connell from the aspersions which had been cast upon him.

Daniel Foster said the benefit of free discussion was now apparent. He had listened closely to the remarks which had been made; he was now convinced that he had been wrong in his view of the character of Mr. O'Connell, and he withdrew the charge of demagogue, &c., which he had made against him. [Great applause.]

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH objected to what had been said by several speakers, yesterday and to-day, in regard to taking the lives of slaveholders and kidnappers. We ought not to do or say anything to encourage a blood-thirsty spirit. We could not be too careful to keep the cause from all suspicion of relying upon such methods.

P. PILLSBURY said he thought that those speakers, who had undertaken to defend Kossuth, had done more to damage his cause, and to show the weakness and wickedness of his position, than even those who had spoken against him.

Adjourned to quarter before 3 o'clock.

FRIDAY AFTERNOON. The chair was taken by Ed- ingham L. Capron.

G. W. F. Mellen spoke in regard to Kossuth, and offered a long series of resolutions, upon which no action was proposed.

The hour of half-past three, assigned for the question of funds, having arrived, the resolution on that subject was read by the Secretary, and was spoken to by Parker Pillsbury and Nathaniel H. Whiting.

CHARLES SPEAR explained the matter which had been referred to by Mr. Pillsbury, that the two daughters of William W. Brown went to England with him, on board the British mail steamer, *as passengers*. The agent of the steamer refused to take them as passengers, and would allow them to go only as servants. He had therefore consented to their taking that name, rather than they should be deprived of the opportunity of going to their father. Thus prejudice against color had swayed in a British mail steamer, as well as on our own shores.

Mrs. REDLON and MARY C. HINCKLEY protested against the employment of police officers to keep Abigail Folsom out of this meeting.

Mr. MAY, Mr. GARRISON and others showed the necessity of protecting the meetings from disorderly persons and insult. No injustice was done to Mrs. Folsom.

LUCY STONE spoke of those influences, higher and better than money, and without which all money was valueless, to carry forward our holy enterprise.

W. L. GARRISON offered the following resolution, which was responded to, and passed, with acclamation:—

Resolved, That the anniversary of the kidnapping of THOMAS SIMS, in April last, be duly celebrated in this city on the recurrence of that memorable day, under the direction of the Managers of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society.

Edmund Quincy, from the Committee on the Nomination of officers, reported the following list, which being accepted by the Society, the individuals named therein were elected officers for the ensuing year:—

President.  
FRANCIS JACKSON, Boston.  
Vice Presidents.  
ANDREW ROBERTSON, New Bedford.  
EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.  
SILLMAN LOTHROP, Cambridge.  
AMOS FARNSWORTH, Groton.  
ADIN BALLOU, Milford.  
JOHN M. FISK, West Brookfield.  
JOSHUA T. EVERETT, Princeton.  
EDDINGHAM L. CAPRON, Worcester.  
JEFFERSON CHURCH, Springfield.  
OLIVER GARDNER, Nantucket.  
HENRY I. BOWDITCH, Boston.  
JOHN C. GOLE, Roxbury.  
JOSIAH HENSHAW, West Brookfield.  
CAROLINE WESTON, Weymouth.  
BENJAMIN SNOW, Jr., Fitchburg.  
GEORGE MILES, Westminster.  
JAMES N. HUTTON, Lynn.  
CYRUS PRINCE, Newton.  
JOHN T. HILTON, Cambridgeport.

THOMAS T. STONE, Salem.  
BOURNE SPOONER, Plymouth.  
WILLIAM ASHBY, Newburyport.  
JOHN BAILEY, Lynn.  
CHARLES F. HOTYR, Boston.  
J. S. STAFFORD, Cammington.  
JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL, Cambridge.  
RICHARD CLAR, Dorchester.

Corresponding Secretary.  
EDMUND QUINCY, Dedham.

Recording Secretary.  
ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Boston.

Treasurer.  
SAMUEL PHILBRICK, Brookline.

Auditor.  
EDMUND JACKSON, Boston.

Councillors.  
WILLIAM LIOTY GARRISON, WENDELL PHILLIPS,  
MARIA WESTON CHAPMAN, JOHN ROGERS, CORNELIUS  
BRANHAAL, ANNE W. WESTON, ELIZA LEE FOLLEN,  
JOHN M. SPEAR, CHARLES K. WHITFIELD, SAMUEL MAY,  
Jr., WILLIAM I. BOWDITCH, JOHN T. SARGENT.

Adjourned, to meet in Faneuil Hall, at 7 1-2 o'clock.

FRIDAY EVENING. The Society assembled in Faneuil Hall, which was filled at the appointed hour.

The chair was taken at 7 1-2 o'clock, by Edmund Quincy, who announced the character and objects of the meeting.

The Resolutions, assigned for the evening, were read by the Secretary.

W. L. GARRISON spoke ably in exposure of the hypocritical and oppressive character of the African Colonization scheme. He was heard with close attention.

WENDELL PHILLIPS followed. He took up the Resolutions relating to the action of the City Government in the case of Thomas Sims. A speech of more terrible sarcasm is rarely heard. It stirred up the passions of the baser sort of those present. They frequently interrupted Mr. P. with calling for cheers for Daniel Webster, and others; but not a word of Mr. Phillips's remarks was lost.

Mr. GARRISON having announced that the platform was free to any one who desired to defend Mr. Webster in a manly, and not a rowdyish way, a young man, who gave his name as Abraham G. Drake, came forward, professing to undertake that task. After a strange medley of talk, but little of which related to Mr. Webster, and in which he declared himself a 'regular loco-foco,' a thorough-going, *Cass, pro-slavery* demagogue, and as 'going in for the Fugitive Slave Law,'—having exposed his own shame, and disgusted the decent part of the audience, he left the platform.

The following Resolution, from the Business Committee, was offered:—

Resolved, That the craven and time-serving conduct of Theobald Mathew and Louis Kossuth, under the poisonous influence of the American atmosphere, makes us remember afresh and honor anew the magnanimous spirit and courageous consistency of that true friend of America and of the human race, GEORGE THOMPSON, a man whose sympathies, overlooking the boundaries of nationality, include within their embrace the oppressed of all climes and all complexions.

The President then announced that, as this was a meeting of the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, though we welcomed all to our discussions, none but members could be permitted to vote, and the votes of no others would be counted.

The Resolutions before the Society were then put to vote, and unanimously adopted.

And the Society adjourned, *sine die*.

N. B. The collections made by the Finance Committee for expenses of the meeting, and as donations to the Society, amounted to \$340. Pledges were given, also, to the amount of \$800.

THE number of names appended to the Petition in behalf of Drayton and Sayres, during the meeting, was 267.

FRANCIS JACKSON, President.

ROBERT F. WALLCUT, Recording Secretary.

CORNELIUS BRANHAAL, Assistant Secretary.

SAMUEL MAY, Jr., Assistant Secretary.

SPEECH OF WENDELL PHILLIPS,

At the Melodeon, Wednesday evening, Jan. 28, 1852.

PHONOGRAPHICALLY REPORTED BY Z. M. W. YERKINTON.

MR. PRESIDENT:

I have been thinking, while sitting in this meeting, of the different situations of the anti-slavery cause now and one year ago, when the last anniversary of this Society was held. To some, it may seem that we had more sources of interest and of public excitement on that occasion than we have now. We had with us, during a portion, at least, of that session, the eloquent advocate of our cause on the other side of the water. We had the local excitement and the deep interest which the first horror of the Fugitive Slave Bill had aroused. We had, I believe, in our midst, some fugitives, just arrived from the house of bondage. It may seem to many, that meeting as we do to-day robbed of all these, we can calculate only on a session more monotonous and less effectual in arousing the community. But, when we look over the whole land, when we look back upon the scenes which have transpired in our own Commonwealth, at Christians, at Syracuse, at the passage through the country of the great Hungarian, at the present state of the public mind, it seems to me that no year, during the existence of the Society, has presented more encouraging aspects to the abolitionists. The views which our friend (Parker Pillsbury) has just presented are those which in our most sober calculation, we ought to rely upon. Give us time, and, as he has said, talk is almighty. We are apt to feel ourselves overshadowed in the presence of colossal institutions. We are apt, in coming up to a meeting of this kind, to ask what a few hundred or a few thousand persons can do against the weight of government, the mountainous odds of majorities, the influence of the press, the power of the pulpit, the organization of parties, the omnipotence of wealth. At times, to carry a favorite purpose, leading statesmen have endeavored to cajole the people into the idea that this age was like the past, and that a 'rub-a-dub agitation,' as ours is contemptuously styled, was only to be despised. The time has been when, as our friend observed, from the steps of the Reverend House—yes, and from the depots of New York railroads—Mr. Webster has described this anti-slavery movement as a succession of lectures in school-rooms—the mere efforts of a few hundred men and women to talk together, excite each other, arouse the public, and its only result a little noise. He knew better. He knew better the times in which he lived. No matter where you meet a dozen earnest men pledged to a new idea—wherever you have met them, you have met the beginning of a revolution. Revolutions are not made, they come. A revolution is as natural a growth as an oak. It comes out of the past. Its foundations are laid far back. The child feels; he grows into a man, and thinks; another, perhaps, speaks; and the world acts out the thought. And this is the history of modern society. Men undervalue the anti-slavery movement, because they imagine you can put your finger on some illustrious moment in history and say, here commenced the great change which has come over the nation. Not so. The beginning of great changes is like the rise of the Mississippi. A child must stoop and gather away the pebbles to find it. But soon it swells on broader and broader, bears on its ample bosom the navies of a mighty Republic, fills the Gulf, and divides a continent.

I remember a story of Napoleon, that illustrates my meaning. We are apt to trace his control of France

to some noted victory, to the time when he camped in the Tuileries, or when he dissolved the Assembly by the stamp of his foot. He reigned, in fact, when his hand was first felt on the helm of the vessel of state, and that was far back of the time when he had conquered in Italy, or his name had been echoed over two continents. It was on the day when five hundred irresolute men were met in that Assembly which called itself, and pretended to be, the government of France. They heard that the mob of Paris was to come down upon them, thirty thousand strong, to turn them, as usual in those days, out of doors. And where did this seemingly great power go for its support and refuge? They sent Tallien to seek out a boy lieutenant—the shadow of an officer,—so thin and pallid, that when he was placed on the stand before the President of the Assembly, that officer, fearful, if the fate of France rested on the shrunken form, the shy cheek before him, that all hope was gone, asked: 'Your man, can you protect the Assembly?' And the alms lips of the Corsican boy parted only to reply:—'I always do what I undertake.' Then and there Napoleon ascended his throne; and the next day, from the steps of St. Roche, thundered forth the cannon that taught the mob of Paris, for the first time, that it had a master. That was the commencement of the Empire. So the anti-slavery movement commenced unheeded in that 'obscure hole' which Mayor Otis could not find, occupied by a printer and a black boy.

In working these great changes, in such an age as ours, the so-called statesman has far less influence than the many little men who, at various points, are silently maturing a regeneration of public opinion. This is a reading and thinking age, and great interests at stake quicken the general intellect. Stagnant times have been when a great mind, anchored in error, might snag the slow-moving current of society. Such is not our era. Nothing but Freedom, Justice and Truth is of any permanent advantage to the mass of mankind. To this society, left to itself, is always tending. In our day, great questions about them have called forth all the energies of the common mind. Error suffers and treatment in the shock of eager intellects. 'Every body,' said Talleyrand, 'is cleverer than any body'; and any name, however illustrious, which links itself to abuses, is sure to be overwhelmed by the impetuous current of that society which, (thanks to the press and a reading public), is potent, always, to clear its own channel. Thanks to the Printing Press, the people now do their own thinking, and statesmen, as they are styled—men in office, have ceased to be either the leaders or the clogs of society.

This view is one that Mr. Webster ridiculed in the depots of New York. The time has come when he is obliged to change his tone; when he is obliged to retrace his steps—to acknowledge the nature and the character of the age in which he lives. Kossuth came to this country—peniles, and an exile; conquered on his own soil; flung out as a weed upon the waters; nothing but his voice left—and the Secretary of State must meet him. Now, let us see what he says of his 'rub-a-dub agitation,' which consists of the voice only of the tongue, which our friend Pillsbury has described. This is that 'tongue,' that the impudent statesman declared, from the drunken steps of the Reverend House, ought to be silenced—this tongue, which was a 'rub-a-dub agitation' to be despised, when he spoke to the farmers of New York.

He says:—'We are too much inclined to underrate the power of moral influence.' Who is? Nobody but a Reverend House statesman. 'We are too much inclined to underrate the power of moral influence, and the influence of public opinion, and the influence of the principles to which great men—the lights of the world and of the present age—have given their sanction. Who doubts that in our struggle for liberty and independence, the majestic eloquence of Chatham, the profound reasoning of Burke, the burning satire and irony of Col. Barre, had influences upon our fortunes never in America? They had influences both ways. They tended, in the first place, somewhat to diminish the confidence of the British ministry in their hopes of success, in attempting to subjugate an injured people. They had influence another way, because all along the coasts of the country,—and all our people in that land lived upon the coast, there was not a reading man who did not feel stronger, bolder and more determined in the assertion of his rights, when these exhortations accents from the two Houses of Parliament reached him from beyond the seas.'

'I thank thee, Jew!' This rub-a-dub agitation, then, has influences both ways. It diminishes the confidence of the Administration in its power to execute the Fugitive Slave Law, which it has imposed so insolently on the people. It acts on the *reading men* of the nation, and in that single fact is the whole story of the change. Wherever you have a reading people, there every tongue, every press is a power. Mr. Webster, when he ridiculed in New York the agitation of the anti-slavery body, supposed he was living in the old feudal times, when a statesman was an integral element in the State, an essential power in himself. He must have supposed himself speaking in those ages when a great man outweighed the masses. He finds now that he is living much later, in an age when the accumulated common sense of the people outweighs the greatest statesman or the most influential individual. Let me illustrate the difference of our times and the past in this matter, by their difference in another respect. The time has been when men passed in iron from head to foot, and disciplined by rights, when these exhilarating accents from the two Houses of Parliament reached him from beyond the seas.'

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ry operative, whom he told to uphold the Union, because it made his cloth sell for half per cent. more a yard; it may be a parchment Constitution, or a Fugitive Slave Bill signed by Millard Fillmore!—no matter, all are due to the throbbing force of a reading public, once roused to indignation. Remember this, when you would look down upon a meeting of a few hundreds in the one scale, and the fanatic violence of State street in the other, that there is nothing, Daniel Webster being witness, strong enough to stand against public opinion,—and if the tongue and the press are not parents of that, what is?

Napoleon said, 'I fear three newspapers more than a hundred thousand bayonets.' Mr. Webster now is of the same opinion. 'There is not a monarch on earth,' he says, 'whose throne is not to be shaken by the progress and the sentiment of the just and intelligent part of the people.' 'I thank thee, Jew!' We have been told often; that it was nothing but a morbid sentiment that was opposed to the Fugitive Slave Bill,—it was a sentiment of morbid philosophy. Grant it all. But take care, Mr. Statesman; cure or change it in time, else it will beat all your dead institutions to dust. Hearts and sentiments are alive, and we all know that the gentlest of nature's growths will, in time, burst asunder or wear away the proudest dead-weight man can heap upon them. It is the power of the gentlest growth, let the stoutest heart tremble before the tornado of a people roused to terrible vengeance by the sight of long years of cowardly and merciless oppression, and oft-repeated instances of selfish and calculating apostasy. You may build your Citadel of granite, and pile it up as high as the Rocky Mountains, if it is founded on or mixed up with iniquity, the pulse of a girl will in time beat it down. 'There is no monarch on earth whose throne is not liable to be shaken by the sentiment of the just and intelligent part of the people.' What is this but a recantation? doing penance for the impudence uttered in Bowdoin Square? Surely this is the white sheet and lighted torch which the Scotch church imposed as penance on its erring members. Who of you would imagine that the man who said of the public discussion of the slavery question that it must be put down, could have dictated this sentiment—'It becomes us, in the station which we hold, to let that public opinion have free course? What, then, is that echo that we heard from Bowdoin Square a year ago? 'This agitation must be put down.' 'It becomes us, in the station which we hold, to let that public opinion have free course.' Behold the great dougface cringing before the calm eye of Kossuth, who had nothing but 'rub-a-dub agitation' with which to rescue Hungary from the bloody talons of the Austrian eagle!

This is statesmanship! The statesmanship that says to the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to-day, 'smother those prejudices; and to-morrow, there is no throne on the broad earth strong enough to stand up against the sentiment of justice.' What is that but the 'prejudices' of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts against man-hunting? And this is the man before whom the press and the pulpit of the country would have had the abolitionists bow their heads, and lay their mouths in the dust, instead of holding fast to the eternal principles of justice and right!

I do not quote Mr. Webster's opinion for what it is worth, because it is worth nothing. He changed his opinion yesterday, and he may change it again to-morrow. But I quote it because we have been accustomed to come here, sometimes, and feel somewhat awed by the image of the colossal institutions about us, which seem to be opposing our progress. Because there are some who occasionally weary of this moral suasion, and sigh for something tangible; some power that they can feel, and see its operation. The advancing tide you cannot mark. The gem grows unseen. The granite increases and crumbles, and you can hardly mark either process. The great change in a nation's opinion is the same. We stand here to-day, and if we look back twenty years, we can see a change in public opinion—yes, we can see a great change. Then, the great statesmen had pledged themselves not to talk on this subject. They have been made to talk. These louds have been whipped into the traces of the nation's ear, not by one newspaper, which Napoleon dreaded, but by one. (Cheers.) The great parties of the country have been broken to pieces and crumbled. The great sects have been broken to pieces. Suppose you cannot put your finger upon an individual fact; still, in the great result, you see what Webster tells us in this speech—'Depend upon it, gentlemen, that between these two rival powers, the autocratic power, maintained by arms and force, and the popular power, maintained by opinion, the former is constantly decreasing; and, thank God, the latter is constantly increasing. Real human liberty is gaining the ascendancy;—(he must feel at that!)—and the part which we have to act in all this great drama is to show ourselves in favor of those rights; to uphold our ascendancy, and to carry it on, until we shall see it culminate in the highest heaven over our heads.'

Now, I look upon that speech as the most remarkable Mr. Webster has ever made on the anti-slavery agitation to which we are devoted—as a most remarkable confession, under the circumstances. I read it here and to you, because, in the circle I see around me, the larger proportion are abolitionists—men attached to the movement which this meeting represents—men whose thoughts are occasionally occupied with the causes and with the effects of its real progress. I would









## POETRY.

From the National Era.

## WAKING.

BY CAROLINE A. BRIDGES.

I have done at length with dreaming—  
Henceforth, oh, thou soul of mine,  
Thou must take up sword and gauntlet,  
Waging warfare most divine.

Life is struggle, combat, victory!  
Wherefore have I slumbered on,  
With my forces all unmarshalled,  
With my weapons all unstrung?

Oh, how many a glorious record  
Had the angels of me kept,  
Had I done, instead of doubted,  
Had I waded, instead of wept!

But begone, Regret, Bewailing!  
Ye but weaken at the best—  
I have tried the trusty weapons,  
Rusting erst within my breast.

I have wakened to my duty—  
To a knowledge strong and deep,  
That I reeked not of aforesaid,  
In my long, inglorious sleep!

For to live is something useful,  
And I knew it not before,  
And I dreamed not how stupendous  
Was the secret that I bore.

The great, deep, mysterious secret  
Of a life to be wrought out  
Into warm, heroic action,  
Weakened not by fear or doubt.

In this subtle sense of being,  
Newly stirred in every vein,  
I can feel a throb electric—  
Pleasure half allied to pain.

'Tis so great, and yet so awful—  
So bewildering, yet so brave—  
To be king in every conflict,  
Where before I crouched a slave!

'Tis so glorious to be conscious  
Of a growing power within,  
Stronger than the rallying forces  
Of a charged and marshalled sin!

Never in those old romances  
Felt I half the sense of life,  
That I feel within me stirring,  
Standing in this place of strife.

Oh, those old days of dalliance,  
When I waded with my fate—  
When I trifled with a knowledge  
That had well-nigh come too late!

Yet, my soul, look not behind thee!  
Thou hast work to do at last;  
Let the brave toll of the Present  
Overarch the crumbled Past.

Build their great acts high and higher,  
Build them on the conquered sod,  
Where thy weakness first fell bleeding,  
And thy first prayer rose to God!

**WINTER TO THE POOR.**  
Stormy Winter comes again,  
Bringing snow, and hail, and rain,  
Beating 'gainst the window-pane—  
Rudely knocking at the door!

Boreas holds to-night a rout—  
He shatters bolts and stout,  
Fastes all the doors about—  
Stormy Winter is without—  
God have mercy on the poor!

On the poor, half-clad in shreds,  
Through whose low and leaky sheds  
Snows beat down on aching heads,  
Pillowed on the naked floor;

He that looks may there behold,  
Side by side, the young and old;  
Shrivelled arms the babe enfold—  
Oh! how dreadful is the cold—  
God have mercy on the poor!

See, the famished infant prest  
To the fond, but empty breast,  
While the mother bends in distress,  
Drooping tears upon the floor;

Thou who hear'st the raven's cry,  
Here look down with pitying eye—  
Send them manna from the sky,  
Or, let birds their bread supply—  
God have mercy on the poor!

Hark! the storm is raging yet—  
Who beside his fire can sit,  
And the sufferers forlorn,  
Shivering on the frozen floor;

Ye, who downy pillows press,  
Ye, whose limbs soft robes caress,  
Pity and relieve distress,  
Oh, the storm is pitiless—  
God have mercy on the poor!

**'HE'S NONE THE WORSE FOR THAT.'**  
What though the homespun suit he wears—  
Best suited to the sons of toil—  
What though the loom or till the soil;  
What though no gold leaf glids the tongue,  
Devoted to congenial chat—  
If right prevails, and not the wrong,  
The man is none the worse for that.

What though within the humble cot,  
No costly ornament is seen;  
What though the wife possesses not  
Her satin gown and black and green;  
What though the merry household band  
Half-naked fly to ball and bat;  
If conscience guides the heart and hand,  
The man is none the worse for that.

True worth is not a thing of dress—  
Of splendor, wealth, or classic lore!  
Would that these trappings were loved less,  
And clung to honest worth the more!  
Though pride may spur the toiling crowd,  
The tattered garb, the crownless hat,  
Yet God and Nature cry aloud,  
The man is none the worse for that.

EP The following is the translation of a German ballad on a tipsy man, which has been set to music, and is often sung in Germany. It is rather dull in the original, and perhaps has not lost all its humor, in being versified, as they call it, in English:—

**OUT OF THE TAVERN, &c.**  
Out of the tavern I've just stepped to-night;  
Street, you are caught in a very bad plight;  
Right hand and left hand are both out of place—  
Street, you are drunk—'tis a very clear case!

Moon, 'tis a very queer figure you cut;  
One eye is staring, while 't'other is shut!  
Tipty, I see, and you're rightly to blame;  
Old as you are, 'tis a horrible shame.

Then the street lamps, what a scandalous sight!  
None of them soberly standing upright;  
Rocking and staggering, why, on my word,  
Each of the lamps is as drunk as a lord.

All is confusion: now isn't it odd?  
I am the only thing sober abroad;  
Sure it were rash with this crew to remain;  
Better go into the tavern again.

## Reformatory.

From 'Voices of the True-Hearted.'

## HISTORICAL ERAS.

The world's Eras, for the most part, have been mighty efforts of courage or intellect, perverted to base uses. The love of what is noblest has not often been honored by pillar, or temple, or poet's song, or statesman's advocacy, or orator's eulogium, or historian's record. Tyrants, because he was full of the spirit of courage, has always sung of battle-fields; and as his songs were to Spartans, Spartans treasured them up above any purer strains. Yet many noble aspirations doubtless graced the ages that have fled. The heart of man, though not perfect, has frequently beat for the true and right. Demosthenes, though a coward at Chœrea, was bold for Freedom in the popular assemblies; Tancred, though sometimes fierce, was often kind and pious; and even Xerxes, nurtured as he was with no feeling of brotherhood for his millions of serfs, wept with involuntary pity at what he conceived would be their miserable fate. Then, too, Isaiah and Jeremiah and David and Confucius and Socrates, by close union with God, felt and knew nobleness so in advance of their age, that the truth of it all is not even yet acknowledged by the mass of mankind. Then, too, thousands have gone down to their graves unwept and unremembered, whose voices, full of divine accents, falling upon ears not ready to receive them, died with the passing breeze.

The high task of weaving the fragments of nobleness that remain into a Philosophico-Religious history, and deducing from them invaluable conclusions with regard to God's government and man's duty, is reserved for some Freeman whose heart beats warmly for the right, and whose intellect can recognize truth even when covered by the dust which Malice and Ignorance have frequently flung upon it. We need that the Soul's progress from its lower to its higher destinies should be exhibited in the strong light of history. We need to be assured, by infallible proofs, that each age has made advances upon that which preceded it, even when at first glance the reverse would appear; and that in every age Love, when exerted, has been more potent than Hate and Violence to bring men to its measures; and that Freedom has never led to license, but Tyranny always; and that Truth, with her pure, confiding aspect, has ever been more revered, even by her enemies, than Falsehood with her gorgeous trappings and millions in her train. We need to have our fidelity, in God's goodness and power, rebuked by stern facts that shall shame us into heroism that will not doubt of victory in God's causes, but will be as fully assured of it when arming for the assault, as if the white flag already streamed from the battlements. We need that no storm breaking upon our brow should quench the fire of hope that burns in our bosoms.

Within a few years have appeared three documents, which are worthy of all note as indicating the upward spirit of the age. They did not emanate from those who in wonder and awe were styled prophets, but from those who were of the people, and uttered what many felt and acknowledged, and so shall be honored even when a purer philosophy shall have pointed out to mankind some flaws in their positions. Magna Charta shall not have a name more imperishable than they. The world's archives do not contain nobler voices from masses of men. They are Eras in the march of Soul.

**I.**  
**DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.**  
IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

By the Representatives of the United States of America, in Congress assembled.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect for the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses, usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good. He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature—a right inalienable to them, and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the repositories of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large, for their exercise; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for the naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of land.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected multitudes of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers, to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies, without the consent of our Legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of, and superior to, the civil power.

He has combined with others, to subject us to a jurisdiction, foreign to our Constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:—

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:—

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murder which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:—

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:—

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:—

For depriving us, in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:—

For transporting us beyond seas, to be tried for pretended offences:—

For abolishing the free system of English law in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:—

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:—

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us, in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection, and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is, at this time, transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the work of death, desolation, and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy, scarcely paralleled by the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive to the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executors of their friends and brethren, and to break a home of the slaves, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions, we have petitioned for redress, in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Now have we no remedy, but to throw off all allegiance, and to assume the protection and guardianship of the laws of nature. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity; and we have conjured them, by the ties of our common kindred, to disavow these usurpations, which would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war—in peace, friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the United States of America, in General Congress assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do, and for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

**II.**  
**DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS**  
OF THE AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION.

The Convention assembled in the city of Philadelphia, to organize a National Anti-Slavery Society, do hereby declare, in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved; and that, as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do, and for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

More than fifty-seven years have elapsed, since a band of patriots convened in this place, to devise measures for the deliverance of this country from a foreign yoke. The corner-stone upon which they founded the Temple of Freedom was broadly this:—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. At the sound of their trumpet-call, three millions of people rose up as from the sleep of death, and rushed to the strife of blood; the help of the oppressed to instantly as freemen, thus desirable to live one hour as slaves. They were few in number—poor in resources; but the honest conviction that Truth, Justice and Right were on their side made them invincible.

We have met together for the achievement of an enterprise, without which that of our fathers is incomplete. We have met to unite our voices, to combine our efforts, and to prosecute, with united and powerful results upon the destiny of the world, as far transcends theirs, as moral truth does physical force.

In purity of motive, in earnestness of zeal, in decision of purpose, in integrity of action, in steadfastness of faith, in sincerity of spirit, we would not be inferior to them.

Their principles led them to wage war against their oppressors, and to spill human blood like water, in order to be free. Ours forbid the doing of evil that good may come, and lead us to reject, and to entreat the oppressed to reject, the use of all carnal weapons for deliverance from bondage; relying solely on those which are spiritual, and mighty through God to the pulling down of every stronghold.

Their measures were physical resistance—the marshaling of arms—the hostile array—the mortal encounter. Ours shall be only as the opposition of moral purity to moral corruption—the destruction of error by the potency of truth—the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love—and the abolition of every form of sin.

Their grievances were as they were trifling in comparison with the wrongs and sufferings of those for whom we plead. Our fathers were never slaves—never bought and sold like cattle—never shut out from the light of knowledge and religion—never subjected to the lash of brutal taskmasters.

Constituting at the present time at least one-sixth part of our countrymen—are recognized by law, and treated by their fellow-beings, as marketable commodities, as goods and chattels, as brute beasts; are plundered daily of the fruits of their toil, without redress; really enjoy no constitutional or legal protection from licentious and unbridled outrages upon their persons; and are as a consequence, in the tender bosom from the arms of their mothers and the heart-broken wife from her weeping husband—at the caprice or pleasure of irresponsible tyrants. For the crime of having a dark complexion, they suffer the pangs of hunger, the infliction of stripes, the ignominy of brutal servitude. They are kept in wretched servitude by laws expressly enacted to make their situation a criminal offense.

These are the prominent circumstances in the condition of more than two millions of our people, the proof of which may be found in thousands of indisputable facts, and in the laws of the slaveholding States.

Hence we maintain—that, in view of the civil and religious privileges of this nation, the guilt of its oppression is unequalled by any other on the face of the earth; and, therefore, that it is bound to repent instantly, to undo the heavy burdens, and to let the oppressed go free.

We further maintain—that no man has a right to enslave or to interfere with his brother—to hold or acknowledge him as property, or to purchase him, or to sell him, or to keep him by force or fraud—or to bribe him, or to deny him the means of intellectual, social, and moral improvement.

The right to enjoy liberty is inalienable. To invade it is to usurp the prerogative of Jehovah. To invade it is to invade the rights of God—to the products of his own labor—to the protection of law—and to the common advantages of society. It is piracy to buy or steal a native African, and subject him to servitude. Surely, the sin is as great to enslave an American as an African.

Therefore we believe and affirm—that there is no difference in principle between the African slave-trade and American slavery.

That every American citizen, who detains a human being in involuntary bondage as his property, is, according to Scripture, (Ex. xxi. 16,) a man-stealer: That the slave ought instantly to be set free, and brought under the protection of law:

That if he live from the time of Pharaoh down to the present day, he has been entailed through successive generations, their right to be free could never have been alienated, but their claims would have constantly risen in solemnity:

That all those laws which are now in force, admitting the right of slavery, are therefore, before God, utterly null and void; being an atrocious usurpation of the Divine prerogative, a daring infringement on the law of nature, a base overthrow of the very foundations of the social compact, a complete extinction of all the relations, endearments and obligations of mankind, and a presumptuous transgression of all the holy commandments; and that therefore, we ought instantly to be avenged.

We further believe and affirm—that all persons of color, who possess the qualifications which are demanded of others, ought to be admitted forthwith to the enjoyment of the same privileges, and the exercise of the same prerogatives, as others; and that the paths of preferment, of wealth, and of intelligence, should be opened as widely to them as to persons of a white complexion.

We maintain that no compensation should be given to the planters emancipating their slaves:

Because it would be a surrender of the great fundamental principle, that man cannot hold property in man:

Because slavery is a crime, and therefore is not subject to be sold:

Because the holders of slaves are not the just proprietors of what they claim; freeing the slave is not depriving them of property, but restoring it to its rightful owner; it is not wronging the master, but righting the slave—restoring him to himself:

Because immediate and general emancipation would only destroy nominal, not real property; it would not completely break a home of the slaves, but, by infusing motives into their breasts, would make them doubly valuable to the masters as free laborers:

Because, if compensation is to be given at all, it should be given to the outraged and guiltless slaves, and not to those who have plundered and abused the property of a white complexion.

We regard as delusive, cruel and dangerous, any scheme of expatriation which pretends to aid, either directly or indirectly, in the emancipation of the slaves, or to be a substitute for the immediate and total abolition of slavery.

We fully and unanimously recognize the sovereignty of each State, and declare exclusively on the subject of the slavery which is tolerated within its limits; we concede that Congress, under the present national compact, has no right to interfere with any of the slave States, in relation to this momentous subject:

But we maintain that Congress has a right, and is solemnly bound, to suppress the domestic slave trade in the United States, and to abolish slavery in those portions of our territory which the Constitution has placed under its exclusive jurisdiction. We also maintain that there are, at the present time, the highest obligations resting upon the people of the free States to remove slavery by moral and political action, as prescribed in the Constitution of the United States. They are now living under a pledge of the most sacred and solemn character, to the colored people of the Southern States; they are liable to be called at any moment to suppress a general insurrection of the slaves; they authorize the slave owner to vote for three-fifths of his slaves as property, and thus enable him to perpetuate his oppression; they support a standing army at the expense of the nation; and they seize the slave, who has escaped into their territories, and send him back to be tortured by an enraged master or a brutal driver. This relation to slavery is criminal, and full of danger: IT MUST BE BROKEN UP.

These are our views and principles—these our designs and measures. With entire confidence in the prevailing justice of our cause, we stand upon the Declaration of our Independence and the truths of Divine Revelation, as upon the Everlasting Rock.

We shall organize Anti-Slavery Societies, if possible, in every city, town and village in our land. We shall send forth agents to lift up the voice of reformation, of warning, of entreaty, and of rebuke. We shall circulate, among the clergy and extensively, anti-slavery tracts and periodicals.

We shall enlist the pulpit and the press in the cause of the suffering and the dumb.

We shall aim at a purification of the churches from all participation in the guilt of slavery.

We shall encourage the labor of freemen rather than that of slaves, by giving a preference to their productions:

We shall spare no exertions nor means to bring the whole nation to speedy repentance.

Our trust for victory is solely in God. We may be personally defeated, but our principles never. Truth, Justice, Reason, Humanity, must and will gloriously triumph. Already a host is coming up to the aid of the oppressed, and the prospect before us is full of encouragement.

Submitting this Declaration to the candid examination of the people of this country, and of the friends of liberty throughout the world, we hereby affix our signatures to it, pledging ourselves that, under the guidance and by the help of Almighty God, we will persevere, until we have secured the triumph of our principles, consistently with this Declaration of our principles, and with the most execrable system of slavery that has ever been witnessed upon earth; to deliver our land from its deadliest curse; to wipe out the foulest stain which rests upon our national escutcheon; and to secure to the colored population of the United States, all the rights and privileges which belong to them as men, and as Americans.

Witness our hands and seals, this 20th day of September, 1838.

Done at Philadelphia, Dec. 6th, A. D. 1833.

**III.**  
**DECLARATION OF SENTIMENTS**  
ADOPTED BY THE PEACE CONVENTION, HELD IN BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 18, 19 AND 20, 1838.

Assembled in Convention, from various sections of the American Union, for the promotion of peace on earth and good will to men, we, the undersigned, regard it as due to ourselves, to the cause which we love, to the country in which we live, and to the world, to publish a Declaration, expressive of the principles which we cherish, the purposes we aim to accomplish, and the measures we shall adopt to carry forward the work of peaceful and universal reformation.

We cannot acknowledge allegiance to any human government; neither can we oppose any such government, by a resort to physical force. We recognize but one King and Lawgiver, one Judge and Ruler of mankind. We are bound by the laws of a kingdom which is not of this world; the subjects of which are forbidden to take up arms, or to shed blood. Truth are met together, and Righteousness and Peace have kissed each other; which has no state lines, no national partitions, no geographical boundaries; in which there is no distinction of rank, no division of caste, or inequality of sex; the officers of which are Peace, its excoeters Righteousness, its soldiers Love, its armor Faith, and its weapons the sword of the Spirit, and the shield of the Word; and which is destined to break in pieces and consume all other kingdoms.

Our country is the world, our countrymen are all mankind. We love the land of our nativity, only as we love all other lands. The interests, rights, and liberties of American citizens are no more dear to us, than are those of the whole human race. Hence, we can allow no appeal to patriotism, to revenge any national insult or injury. The Prince of Peace, under whose stainless banner we rally, came not to destroy, but to save, even the worst of enemies. He has left us an example, that we should follow his steps. "God commendeth his love towards us, in that while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us."

We conceive, that a nation has no right to defend itself against foreign enemies, or to punish its invaders, no individual possesses that right in his own case. The unit cannot be of greater importance than the aggregate. If one man may take life, to obtain or defend his rights, the same license must necessarily be granted to communities, states, and nations. If he may use a dagger or pistol, they may employ cannon, bomb-shells, land and naval forces. The means of self-preservation must be in proportion to the magnitude of interests at stake, and the number of lives exposed to destruction. But if a rapacious and blood-thirsty soldiery, thronging these shores from abroad, with intent to commit rapine and destroy life, may not be resisted by the people or magistrates, then ought no resistance to be offered to domestic trouble-makers of the public peace, or of private security. No obligation can rest upon Americans to regard foreigners as more sacred in their persons than themselves, or to give them a monopoly of wrong-doing without impunity.

The dogma, that all the governments of the world are approvedly ordained of God, and that the powers that be in the United States, in Russia, in Tur-

key, are in accordance with his will, is not less absurd than impious. It makes the impartial Author of human freedom and equality, unequal and tyrannical. It cannot be affirmed that the powers that be, in any nation, are actuated by the spirit, or guided by the example of Christ, in the treatment of enemies; therefore, they cannot be agreeable to the will of God; and, therefore, their overthrow, by a spiritual regeneration of their subjects, is inevitable.

We register our testimony, not only against all wars, whether offensive or defensive, but all preparations for war; against any naval ship, every arsenal, every fortification; against the militia system and a standing army; against all military chiefs, and soldiers; against all monuments commemorative of victory over a foreign foe, all trophies won in battle, all celebrations in honor of military or naval exploits; against all appropriations for the defence of a nation by force, and arms on the part of any legislative body; against every edict of government, requiring of its subjects military service. Hence, we deem it unlawful to bear arms, or to hold a military office.

As every human government is upheld by physical strength, and its laws are enforced virtually at the point of the sword, we cannot hold any office which imposes upon its subjects any obligation to do right, on pain of imprisonment or death; we therefore voluntarily exclude ourselves from every legislative and judicial body, and repudiate all human politics, worldly honors, and stations of authority. If we cannot occupy a seat in the legislature, or on the bench, neither can we elect others to act as our substitutes in any such capacity.

It follows, that we cannot swear any oath at law, to compel him to force to restore any thing which he may have wrongfully taken from us or others; but, if he has seized our coat, we shall surrender up our cloak, rather than subject him to punishment.

We believe that the penal code of the old covenant, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth, has been abrogated by Jesus Christ; and that, under the new covenant, the forgiveness, instead of the punishment of enemies, has been enjoined upon all his disciples, in all cases whatsoever. To extort money from enemies, or set them upon a pillory, or cast them into prison, or hang them upon a gallows, is obviously not to forgive, but to take retribution. Vengeance is mine—I will repay, saith the Lord.

The history of mankind is crowded with evidence, proving that physical coercion is not adapted to moral regeneration; that the sinful disposition of man can be subdued only by love; that evil can be exterminated from the earth only by goodness; that it is not safe to rely upon an arm of flesh, upon man whose breath is in his nostrils, to preserve us from harm; that there is great security in being governed by a less, less, less, and abundant mercy; that it is only the meek that shall inherit the earth, for the violent, who resort to the sword, shall perish with the sword. Hence, as a measure of sound policy, of safety to property, life, and liberty, of public quietude and private enjoyment, as well as on the ground of allegiance to him who is King of kings and Lord of lords, we cordially adopt the non-resistance principle; being confident that it provides for all possible consequences, will ensure all things needful to us, as armed with omnipotent power, and must ultimately triumph over every assailing force.

We advocate no pecuniary doctrines. The spirit of Jacobinism is the spirit of retaliation, violence and murder. It neither fears God, nor regards man. We would be filled with the spirit of Christ, to be able by our principles, it is impossible for us to be disordered, or plot treason, or participate in any evil work; we shall submit to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; obey all the requirements of government, except such as we deem contrary to the commands of the gospel; and in no wise resist the operation of law, except by meekly submitting to the penalty of disobedience.

But, while we shall adhere to the doctrines of non-resistance and passive submission to enemies, we purpose, in a moral and spiritual sense, to speak and act boldly in the cause of God; to assuage inquiry in high places and in low places; to apply our principles to all existing civil, political, legal, and ecclesiastical institutions; and to hasten the time, when the kingdoms of this world shall become the kingdom of our Lord and of his